

# Programs of Social Development: United Nations Survey\*

The worldwide upsurge of interest in improved social conditions and the determination of peoples everywhere to achieve such conditions for themselves and their children are reflected in a document recently published by the United Nations. The report attempts to review the major trends and lines of development of social welfare programs throughout the world. The major emphasis is on measures carried out since 1945 and on the action of National Governments, although frequent mention is made of related voluntary or private action and of international measures in the social field.

The primary purpose of the survey is given in the Preface—"to help governments become more familiar with the policies of other governments in the social field, and, in this way, to suggest ideas and indications of methods that governments might wish to consider for possible application to their own social problems." The survey should be of great interest and value, however, to private organizations and professional groups and to students of social welfare outside government as well.

The report covers a broad field and thus has to concentrate primarily on broad trends and patterns of development; it describes specific programs for purposes of illustration only. An earlier report on the World Social Situation published in 1952 reviewed existing social conditions and social needs throughout the world. The survey attempts to show what is being done to meet those needs.

The report was discussed at the 1955 meetings of the Social Commission and of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Both

bodies passed resolutions emphasizing its importance and urging the member governments of the United Nations to make it widely available.

The summary chapter is reproduced here, for the information and use of BULLETIN readers.

SINCE the end of World War II, there has been an expansion of programs in all fields of social action and in countries and territories at all levels of economic development. This has been a continuation of a long historical trend; but it has been intensified by the experiences of the prewar depression, and by the impact of the war itself which forced or facilitated innovation in certain fields and which led governments and peoples to affirm new ideals for peacetime society and new determination to make "a better world." In some countries the trend was intensified by the impulses and hopes that were stirred up with emergence from colonial status into national independence, or with other radical change in political status.

## Social Policies and Objectives in Recent Constitutions

Perhaps the clearest indication of the trend toward greater government responsibility for social welfare can be found in recent changes introduced into national and state constitutions. Since the beginning of 1945, no less than 45 countries have adopted new constitutions or introduced important amendments into their former constitutions. In almost every case the new or amended constitutions have introduced basic responsibilities of the state in matters of social welfare. Some countries, in fact, have amended their constitutions precisely in order to introduce into them the state's responsibility and entitlement to carry out various policies of social welfare. New constitutions not only contain numerous and detailed provisions for social welfare services but may also set forth the manner of their operation, and

establish rules and requirements that become immediately effective or enforceable, or lay down the foundations for institutions that will perform the services.

The majority of the national constitutions adopted or amended in recent years, as well as almost all local constitutions, emphasize the state's duty to develop and maintain a system of public health institutions and services, sometimes specifying the development of certain types of hospitals, nursing and convalescent homes, sanatoria and preventive care institutions. Most of the constitutions explicitly require the state to maintain welfare services for mothers and children. Some contain provisions on supplementary feeding of needy school children and on programs of education in nutrition. A number of them bind the state to promote the building of low-cost dwellings for workers, occasionally also for middle-class families.

Education is given special attention in almost all the new constitutions. Several Latin American countries have included in their constitutional texts provisions securing a minimum allocation of budgetary expenditures for education. The great majority of the new constitutions declare that primary education shall be compulsory and provided free by the state. Provisions binding the state to provide free higher education are also included in several constitutions while others require the state to grant universities a subsidy. Many countries have a constitutional rule binding the state to provide scholarships or stipends to all capable students for secondary, vocational or higher education.

Nearly all new national constitutions include provisions in the field of labor law and workers' welfare. Some outline general principles; others set forth detailed rules on minimum wages, maximum hours of work, weekly rest and annual vacation with pay, the right to strike, labor unions, collective bargaining, workers' participation in the benefits

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of the enterprise and in its management, compensation for dismissal, protection against accidents, protection of women and young persons, apprenticeship, etc. Fifteen countries, for example, have specified a maximum working day of 8 hours or less in their constitutions.

The majority of the newly adopted constitutions also contain social security provisions, and many lay upon the state the duty of developing a comprehensive system of social security or social insurance, sometimes enumerating the various risks to be covered. A few go further and indicate how the system is to be organized and financed. Several constitutions declare the state's responsibility for the maintenance and care of the aged and the disabled. The new Constitution of Denmark states that any person unable to support himself or his dependent shall be entitled to receive public assistance. A fair number of new constitutions affirm the state's obligation to protect large families by granting special allowances to them.

Many new provisions concern agricultural policies such as land reform, land settlement and resettlement, assistance to farmers, protection of small and medium-sized holdings and encouragement of family-owned farms, and welfare services for peasants.

A specific obligation of the state to encourage, support or even to organize cooperatives, as instruments for achieving various economic and social objectives, has been laid down in the last few years in not less than 24 constitutions of independent countries—12 in Europe, six in Latin America, and six in Asia.

In general, it cannot be assumed that the number of social provisions in a constitution necessarily indicates the extent of social action in a country. Some countries with older constitutions establish their social policies solely through legislative acts and executive regulations. It is also true that inclusion of social provisions in constitutions does not guarantee their execution. Nevertheless, the fact that so many countries have recently incorporated numerous such provisions in their basic instruments of state reflects the contemporary

trend to make the welfare of the population a government responsibility and the citizen's enjoyment of minimum standards of living a fundamental right.

The recent growth of public action in the social field is confirmed by other indexes—for example, by increases in the percentage of the national income expended on such action and by the establishment of new administrative organs or the expansion of existing services.

### *Changes in Concepts and Approaches*

The expansion of programs of social action has been accompanied by changes in their form and character and their underlying philosophy. Thus, the principle of social "rights" has become widely established as the basis for public social action. The development of the principle of social rights is in part a cause of the extension of government responsibility in the social field; it is also in part a consequence of the increasing role of government in social welfare functions, since these functions are necessarily incorporated into law and executed on the impersonal basis of the law rather than on the basis of charitable or other motivations.

The right to education is today accepted in nearly every country of the world, if not everywhere realized. In health, several countries have recently guaranteed the right to individual medical care as a public service analogous to education. The progress of labor has been to a considerable extent progress in gaining acceptance of certain rights which the state now widely guarantees—the right to organize and bargain collectively, to receive a minimum wage defined by public standards of adequacy, to enjoy weekly rest and annual vacation with pay, to be protected against accident and occupational disease and against loss of income in the event of sickness, disability or unemployment, etc.

In regard to the age-old problem of poverty, social thought has for some time been moving away from the conception of the "poor" as a special class of people who exist in their wretched status by nature and abidingly, toward the concept that these

people are victims of circumstances over which modern society can and should exercise control, through preventive, protective and remedial measures. The tendency today is to abolish such institutions as the "poor house" or the "almshouse," even such expressions as "poor relief," which suggest public charity toward a special class of people. Modern systems of social security have been extensively developed to protect the individual and the family against falling into a condition of poverty and need in the first place, when confronted with old age, sickness, unemployment or other contingency. By the method of contributory payments, social insurance systems clearly establish the right of the insured to receive the benefits that come to them. Moreover, social insurance systems are expanding to cover not only workers and the lower-income level, but also salaried employees, professional people, businessmen and farmers—in fact, in some countries the entire population or nearly the entire population. Social insurance thus universalized comes to resemble a public service, except in the manner of obtaining funds. A few countries have even gone beyond the contributory insurance principle and automatically make available a specified income to all elderly residents, or to all families with children.

Social policies thus increasingly aim at anticipating need and preventing it from arising, through programs covering the population at large, not merely those already in need. In many types of recent social measures outside of social security, the over-riding purpose is to maintain an adequate family level of living and prevent individuals from falling into need: for example, preventive health work in maternal and child welfare centers and public health education, school feeding programs, "home help" programs for families in which the mother is sick or absent. At another level of action, governments of many countries, since the end of World War II, have undertaken to prevent unemployment by general economic and fiscal policies.

When needs do exist that are not covered or adequately met by these methods, the present tendency in a

number of countries is not only to provide relief as necessary but also to help the individual or family restore itself to "normal" or gain a normal function in society so far as this is possible: to assist the unemployed through vocational guidance or employment services in finding employment, or in qualifying themselves for employment through vocational training; to rehabilitate the handicapped and find economic functions for them; to provide homes or homelike atmospheres for children deprived of their natural homes; to help the aged achieve a satisfying social adjustment; to rehabilitate the delinquent and break down the barriers between them and normal society. Programs of this type make increasing use of the principles of psychology and mental health in seeking to restore or raise the individual to what is considered to be a normal and healthy role in contemporary society.

As social functions evolve and expand, they tend to become specialized. This creates in turn the danger that a given social problem will not be viewed and dealt with as a whole, but from narrow specialist points of view. To counter this danger, attempts are constantly being made to "integrate" functions that have become specialized and segregated. There is thus increasing use of centers and teams that combine several approaches. In social research there has been a tendency to establish multidiscipline research centers and research teams that undertake a comprehensive analysis of particular social problems. In education at technical and professional schools, there has been emphasis on the need for broad background training of future specialists and for training that will provide the basis for flexibility in approach to new problems. At the level of government administration, "coordination" is a byword of the day, and related functions that are scattered tend to be regrouped in a single agency or department, as has occurred, for example, in many countries in the process of developing labor administration.

In the field of health, integration of the various curative and preventive services has been notably advanced in recent years by the establishment of

unified national health services and by the coordinated provision of health services at the local community level. Moreover, it has become clear that an integrated program of health protection should be part of a general program of community development.

### *National Approaches to Social Welfare*

The expansion of social programs is not limited to countries of any particular ideology or political system. Different ideological or political approaches lead to different emphases and different kinds of action; and also to different justifications for the same kind of action. Many quite specific objectives of government social policy are widely or universally accepted today—a fact that emerges clearly from the analysis of national constitutions and also from the analysis of international conventions and declarations affirming standards and rights.

At the same time, there are fundamental and well-known differences in approach to social programs, particularly in connection with the use of large-scale development plans. On the one hand, countries with centrally planned economies incorporate each social and economic project and expenditure in comprehensive development plans with fixed targets and time tables. The various projects are coordinated and controlled in a complex system of priorities, temporal sequences and interdependencies; under this approach, much of the housebuilding, for example, is undertaken by the different industries for their own workers as a part of their planned operations.

Countries of Europe, America and Oceania that have reached high average levels of living with a predominantly private enterprise economy, on the other hand, do not consider that comprehensive plans and controls by the state are necessary or desirable. The governments of most of these countries (particularly since World War II) keep a systematic watch over the state of the economy and public welfare as a whole, however, and provide assistance, stimuli, guides, controls and restraints when affairs do not seem to be proceeding

properly—as when an element of the economy deviates from the normal or expected pattern or a geographic region is depressed or a population group exists in substandard conditions and special need. Since World War II, there has been an increased tendency to exercise controls through monetary and fiscal devices as a means of guiding the economy, checking depressions and inflations, influencing the level of employment and the cost of living, and promoting the public welfare in general. These countries also engage in a considerable amount of planning in specific social fields; for example, long-range plans in education and housing have been frequently adopted in recent years.

A large number of the economically underdeveloped countries, especially in Asia and the Middle East, have enacted development plans since 1945 or are in process of formulating them. These countries, in which levels of living have risen very slowly if at all as a spontaneous process, look upon development plans as a means of achieving rapid improvement and closing the gap with the economically developed countries. The recent trend towards the use of development plans applies also to dependent territories in various parts of the world, under administering powers that do not resort to such plans for their metropolitan territories. The development plans of most of the countries and territories in question differ from those of countries with a centrally planned economy, in that they are less comprehensive and tend to supplement normal government operations; the social projects, for example, are often limited to construction of schools and hospitals while the related services and recurrent expenditures are covered under the normal budget. Some of the plans are primarily lists of desirable projects which are implemented as conditions allow.

The actual extent of social action, in fields in which it is now widely accepted that governments should undertake action, depends to a large degree upon the level of economic development and the availability of financial resources. The economically developed countries, as a rule, have

much more extensive social welfare programs involving more expenditure—not only in absolute terms but also relative to national income—than do the economically underdeveloped countries, regardless of political systems or ideologies involved.

At the same time, many of the latter countries appear to be more active in the social field than were the former countries when at a comparable level of economic development and national income. They have the past experiences as well as the present standards of living of the developed countries before them and in endeavoring to approach these standards seek to profit from the lessons of the past and to introduce necessary social measures in good time. Moreover, many of them have not gone through a long historical period guided by principles of laissez-faire, self-reliance, and general opposition to government controls. While the economic conditions in these countries are by definition backward, their governments when undertaking development programs are naturally concerned that these programs be based upon the most advanced social thought, science and technology. Thus countries with a level of industrial development today equal to that of Western Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century are fighting against communicable and parasitic diseases, improving nutrition, reorganizing their educational curricula, surveying their manpower needs, and seeking to prevent delinquency, not by the methods of the second half of the nineteenth century but by those of the middle of the twentieth century. Furthermore, some, at least, of the underdeveloped countries are introducing certain types of labor programs, social security programs, programs to encourage cooperatives, etc., that were not acceptable anywhere in the 19th century.

The problem of underdeveloped countries is in fact often that of setting standards and objectives that are too high to achieve with available resources of capital and trained personnel. The measures are enacted but the practice proves too difficult. In various cases, systems of assistance to the needy have been instituted that cannot be carried out with existing

funds. Elementary school systems have been established but the majority of children may receive only 1 or 2 years of schooling—too little to make them literate. Labor legislation has been adopted to improve the conditions of workers, prevent child labor or protect women workers—but not enforced. To some extent, however, it may be reasoned that the setting of social standards is valuable even if they are not presently attained, since the affirmation of the idea of progress may itself be an important first step in the dynamics of progress.

The economically underdeveloped countries are faced with the fact that poverty in their territories is not a problem of a minority but of the majority; it is a normal condition of life. This affects their approach to social welfare, resulting in a strong emphasis in many of these countries upon raising the level of living of the mass of the population through development programs and rather less emphasis than elsewhere on relief and rehabilitation of individual cases. It has also (along with other considerations) led to a realization of the need for a flexible and experimental approach in establishing specific social programs appropriate to local conditions.

### *Welfare and Production*

There is a trend in contemporary social welfare policy, evident in countries at all levels of development and in many different types of social programs, toward viewing social policy in closer relation to economic policy, particularly policy concerned with productivity. From the point of view of means and resources, there are two general ways in which levels of living may be raised: (1) by redistribution of existing wealth and income among different categories of the population (as by land redistribution, the use of progressive taxation or levies to finance social programs, compulsory legislation obliging employers to contribute to the welfare of their workers and pay minimum wages, etc.); (2) by increased production and the creation of new wealth and income (with the provision that the additional wealth does not become concentrated in the hands

of those already well-to-do). Thus, the same funds collected by governments may be used directly for redistributive programs or for investments designed to raise productivity. The benefits of the former approach tend to be immediate and certain; of the latter, long-range, potentially much greater but less certain.

Redistribution of wealth is the classical means of supporting social programs. It is the only means in a static economy. In the economically developed countries, the more ambitious and expensive social measures have come with the attainment of high levels of production and have been supported to a large extent by redistribution of income through taxation. Capital investments in the social fields could be obtained through government borrowing, in the confidence that further increases in productivity and taxing capacity would permit amortization of the debt. In some countries and according to some opinions, the expansion of social measures in this fashion may be approaching its limit. In all the economically developed countries, the capacity of communities and of the state to support better schools, better health facilities, services and allowances covering more contingencies, is continually debated, as are the alternate sources of revenue to pay for them.

In other parts of the world, high standards for social services have received official endorsement, or at least strong popular support, while production is still very low. In most of these countries, concentration of wealth in a few hands contrasts with mass poverty, and the social justice appeal of income redistribution is strong. Whatever the indirect effects may be, redistribution of wealth alone, however, is of limited effectiveness because the concentrations of wealth are few and small when compared to the needs—if the total income were spread evenly, the average person would still be far from attaining acceptable standards of living.

All governments today therefore recognize that more adequate social services and higher levels of living depend to a very important extent on higher productivity. The practical conclusions to be drawn from this

recognition, however, involve some of the most difficult problems of social and economic programming, problems that are essentially matters of political decision. Certain types of social programs may be essential to the increase of productivity. Others are demanded by elementary considerations of human decency: no country today is likely to adopt a deliberate policy of neglecting its indigent aged on the grounds that they do not contribute to production.

In general, countries have no simple formulas to guide them when faced with the concrete problem of deciding how much of their resources should be devoted to future production and how much to immediate improvement of social welfare (through emphasis on consumer interests as well as through expansion of social services). Differences of opinion on this subject are profound, not only as between countries but also within practically all countries. Those who emphasize investments to increase productivity—whether through private enterprise or state enterprise—point to the long-range advantages of raising national income by this means; those with opposing views point to the immediate urgency of social needs and the uncertainty of benefits promised for the future. Pressures from public opinion tend to support immediate redistribution. In the economically underdeveloped countries where available funds are limited and immediate social needs are critical, debate continues as to the extent to which these countries should restrict present consumption in order to permit investments in future productivity.

Since 1945, there appears to have been a trend in many parts of the world toward a proportionately greater emphasis than in the past on immediate raising of levels of living. But the trend is uncertain, policy has varied within individual countries according to the complexion of the political leadership, and in important instances it has been reversed.

Much attention has meanwhile been given to the role of "human capital" in development; it is now widely maintained that investment in human capital—which implies certain types of social or social-economic

programs—is as important for economic development in the long run as investment in physical equipment. Thus, high industrial productivity may depend to an important degree upon the establishment of a labor force that is healthy, adequately fed and housed, properly trained, literate, of good morale and sympathetic to the aim of high productivity. In agriculture, high productivity may depend upon freeing the peasantry from the bonds of landlordism and indebtedness. In all fields of development, knowledge and technological skills provided by education are fundamental to high productivity, as is a social order that permits mobility and change and encourages certain habits of work and saving.

Within the frame of this exceedingly complex and difficult question, there has been a recent effort on the part of many governments to pursue policies that will bring social welfare measures and production measures into direct mutual support. The search for such policies is reflected in new lines of emphasis in practically all the major fields of social action. In health, it has led, for example, to joint campaigns to eradicate malaria and increase agricultural production; in housing, to building programs designed not only to provide more dwellings but also to reduce unemployment and help counteract cyclical economic tendencies; in social security, to the use of the receipts for productive investments. In education, the whole modern trend toward emphasis on "practical" subjects and on technical training, as well as the emergence of "fundamental education" featuring adaptation to the practical environment, may be considered in good part to serve directly the end of higher productivity. In the labor field, while regulatory and protective measures have continued to expand, there has been a marked increase in emphasis on policies and programs that deliberately aim at the goal of higher productivity; in many countries, trade unions now take an active part in discussing productivity policies with employers and official agencies, and attempt to enlist their members' active support for these policies, as well as to ensure that the workers obtain a

fair share of the benefits of higher productivity and that productivity measures do not involve undesirable "speed-up" methods or lead to unemployment. In land reform, the level of production of a holding has increasingly become one of the criteria determining whether the holding should be redistributed; and redistribution is increasingly being supplemented by measures to ensure productivity in the new holdings. In fact, in the field of rural development in general, a very large proportion of the programs established since 1945 have been both economic and social in character, having simultaneous welfare and production goals. These programs range from large-scale schemes combining regional resource development with population resettlement, to numerous multipurpose community development projects.

In several different fields of social action, there has been in recent years a growing reliance upon a method of approach combining welfare and production objectives that goes by the name of "self-help" or "aided self-help." In using it, governments assist individuals to mobilize and apply their own labor and other resources to the solution of their problems. This is by no means a new principle but it has been put to wide and systematic use during the last decade. It is the method by which new housing programs are being carried out in areas where, without reliance on local labor and local resources, there could be little hope for adequate housing; it is a fundamental principle of cooperatives, which many governments, particularly in underdeveloped areas, are now seeking to encourage; it is an essential premise of agricultural extension, supervised credit, fundamental education and community development programs in general.

Use of the self-help method, as a general policy, requires that as governments assume increasing responsibilities in the field of social welfare, those who are to benefit likewise assume increasing responsibilities. It further implies the adaptation of social programs to local needs and resources.

### *Rural Development*

The present survey will indicate an impressive growth of rural develop-

ment programs in general since the end of World War II. As indicated above, many of these programs are broad and integrative in approach, covering a wide range of economic and social functions—as befits the rural scene where the various economic and social aspects of life are closely intertwined. Consideration of the problems of economic and social change in underdeveloped rural areas has, in fact, led to a growing emphasis upon “organic” development of the rural community as a whole, involving not only simultaneous changes in the several aspects of rural life (production, health, education, communications, etc.), but also in the different population groups. For example, recent programs may provide education for adults that is integrated with schooling for children in order to ensure common development and avoid conflicting values; or services may be provided to rural women that complement services to the men.

“Community development,” combining the principles of integrative action and of self-help, represents an approach that has spread rapidly and deeply affected thinking about rural development. Numerous other rural programs of a broad nature but administratively more closely tied to a particular field of interest (e.g., to agricultural extension, rural credit, cooperative organization or education), have likewise achieved new importance. In health, new services have been extended to rural peoples not only through mass onslaughts on malaria and other communicable diseases, but also through such means as rural integrated health centers and mobile health teams. In some countries—mostly economically developed countries—social security systems have been expanded to cover the rural population, and price supports and crop insurance for farmers have served similar functions of maintaining rural income. Extensive agrarian reforms, on the other hand, have been carried out in a number of economically underdeveloped countries since 1945. Finally, general development plans today tend to give considerably more weight to agricultural development—vis-a-vis industrial development—than did development plans in the past. Some countries like India

have, in fact, focused their major efforts upon agricultural and rural development; others have considerably revised their plans and approaches to deal with lagging agricultural production.

The above facts do not imply that great improvement has yet been made in the levels of living of rural populations throughout the world. Many of the programs are small in scope or are still at the experimental stage; some countries have as yet done very little. But the extensive attention now being given to this field is new and bears promise for the future.

World food production has increased to some extent in the last few years in relation to population; this would indicate some improvement in rural levels of living. The increase has been uneven, however, and the world is now presented with the paradox of food surplus in some of the industrial countries, whereas the food situation in some of the agricultural countries is unsatisfactory. Even where food supply is adequate in calories, it is often deficient in quality, and in spite of many efforts, much remains to be done in the field of nutrition.

### *Population and Migration*

In the economically underdeveloped areas with their predominantly rural populations, modern health measures continue to cause a sharp decline in death rates while birth rates remain largely unaffected by the factors that have brought about reductions in the industrial societies. It is a truism that production must increase more rapidly than population if levels of living are to rise. In all countries, questions of population growth and distribution bear directly upon social policies—in education, social security, housing, health, migration, employment, manpower organization, etc.; population trends may in turn be influenced by these policies to a greater or lesser extent, whether deliberately or not, although the nature of the influences is often obscure. It is difficult, for example, to predict the effects that recent approaches to rural development, described above, may have upon population growth and distribution.

A number of countries have sought to deal with their population problems through migration programs. The policy of limiting emigration, which was followed by several countries before World War II, has been reversed in most of these cases. Some European countries with dense population have made bilateral migration agreements with countries of sparse population. Large-scale plans for selective immigration have been developed by several countries, including countries seeking additional manpower for their economic development. Migration in general is now a more controlled and restrictive process than it was in the past; at the same time, somewhat more attention is given to the adaptation and adjustment of migrants.

A few countries have sought to deal with their population problems through policies deliberately designed to influence birth rates. Family allowances and special services for mothers and infants have been introduced partly in order to stimulate a higher birth rate in several cases, mostly in Europe and mostly prior to World War II when birth rates were exceptionally low; considerations of family welfare, however, have generally been more important in the adoption of such measures. India, Japan, and Egypt, where population pressure is particularly intense, have recently adopted national policies or initiated studies looking to the reduction of birth rates. This subject is, in general, however, one of the most highly controversial in the social field, and most governments are either opposed or neutral with regard to family planning.

### *Transitional Populations and Problems of Urbanization*

While various programs are being carried out or experimented with on behalf of the rural communities in the less developed countries, people of rural origin migrating to cities have received relatively less attention in programs of social development. The urban population in most underdeveloped countries is expanding at a very rapid rate today, largely because of migration from the countryside. Many cities present a dual picture of an older stabilized urban

population plus a large accretion of families of rural origin who are in the city but not of it, who live in hutments, shantytowns or even on the pavements, and who try ineffectively to apply their past experiences to their present problems. This situation has challenged and generally overwhelmed the existing social services.

For those who remain in rural communities, there is some opportunity to assimilate gradually the impact of modern industrial society; but for the migrants to the city, the confrontation with a new culture is sudden and acute, tending to cause rapid disintegration of kinship groupings, loss of the security provided by such groupings, and loss of the moral authority of elders, who are identified with the traditional values and older ways of life (whether the elders remain in the countryside or migrate as well).

Several countries have considered it necessary to establish special services devoted to the problems of transitional population groups. In some places, "neighborhood units" and other types of urban community organization that serve to some extent as substitutes for rural communities and kinship groups have been planned and established. Orientation, guidance and occasionally temporary accommodations have been provided by public service agencies or voluntary organizations — including voluntary associations of city dwellers with the same rural background of locale, kinship group or tribe. Consideration has been given to the need for consumer protection and guidance in the case of these groups who have little experience in the use of money to purchase the products of an industrial society and whose unwise expenditures may bring little actual benefit to their levels of living. By and large, however, there have been few recently established social programs seeking to deal comprehensively with the problems of groups in process of transition and urbanization, although there is evidence of growing concern with the subject.

### *Some Common Problems*

In connection with practically all of the various types of social programs considered in this survey, there

are three problems that constantly arise. These are problems of obtaining: (1) adequate personnel to execute the programs; (2) adequate information to guide the programs; and (3) adequate resources to finance them. These problems loom largest in the economically underdeveloped countries but nowhere have they been solved to the satisfaction of all concerned. They are, in fact, inevitable accompaniments of efforts to expand government social action.

(1) Countries at all levels of development are troubled by shortages of trained personnel—shortages due to various causes, chiefly lack of training institutes and teachers, lack of primary and secondary education to provide an adequate supply of candidates, and inadequate salaries. Training abroad on fellowships has made an important though necessarily limited contribution to the supply of higher-level technical and professional workers in some countries.

Where there is a wide gap between urban and rural conditions of living, shortage of trained personnel is complicated by the fact that graduates of technical and professional schools prefer to live in the cities, thus bringing about a maldistribution of available personnel. Some countries in this connection have sought to arouse a humanitarian and missionary spirit; others have made rural service for a specified period of time a condition of urban practice (as in medicine) or of career advancement of public personnel. Various attempts have also been made to deal with the maldistribution among professions that occurs in many countries because of the high status value of certain professions and white-collar jobs and the reluctance of educated personnel to engage in any type of manual work.

In their efforts to provide personnel for their social programs, the less-developed countries have increasingly turned to "auxiliary workers"—workers in a particular professional field (e.g., nurses' aids) who have less than full professional qualifications and who assist, and are supervised by, professional workers. Such workers, trained through comparatively short courses or during service, carry out routine tasks, releasing the profes-

sional for tasks requiring expert skills and for supervisory work. Auxiliaries are now employed in all social fields, in economically developed as well as less developed countries, and are universally considered to be indispensable. At present, in some areas, their general education and specialized training are admittedly scanty, their supervision intermittent, and the responsibilities placed on them rather wider than is considered desirable. In addition to auxiliaries in special fields, there has also been a trend in some countries toward use of "multipurpose" auxiliaries who have limited training in several social disciplines. A few countries are thus experimenting with multipurpose "village level workers."

(2) The problem of obtaining adequate information for social programs is in part one of balancing the use of limited resources. Research on social problems could unquestionably absorb a vast amount of funds, leaving little, however, for social action. The exact allocations that governments should make remain a matter of opinion. There has been, however, a clear trend toward greater reliance upon social research in recent years, as a basis for formulating systematic plans and programs, checking on their progress and evaluating their effectiveness. This coincides with the general growth of science in modern society, but it has also been spurred by concrete instances of failures of programs founded on poor information and mistaken assumptions. More attention is being given to experimentation and testing on a small scale before large projects are launched, including the testing of projects that have worked well in one environment but may not be appropriate to another environment. One of the more significant recent developments in the field of social research bearing upon programs of social action has been the emergence of the "sample survey" as a method of investigation. This method during the last decade has served as an instrument of social policy in a wide range of social fields and in countries at various levels of economic development.

(3) The discussion above of welfare and of production bears directly on

*(Continued on page 31)*

**Table 8.—Public assistance in the United States, by month, September 1954–September 1955<sup>1</sup>**

[Except for general assistance, includes vendor payments for medical care and cases receiving only such payments]

Year and month	Total <sup>2</sup>	Old-age assistance	Aid to dependent children		Aid to the blind	Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	General assistance	Total	Old-age assistance	Aid to dependent children (families)	Aid to the blind	Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	General assistance	
			Recipients											
			Families	Children										
Number of recipients													Percentage change from previous month	
1954														
September		2,578,207	588,088	2,109,981	1,590,409	101,759	219,752	308,000	(*)	+0.6	+0.3	+1.1	+1.7	
October		2,569,458	590,975	2,121,879	1,599,738	101,954	221,265	312,000	-0.3	+0.5	+2	+7	+1.4	
November		2,565,342	594,562	2,137,257	1,611,647	102,193	222,631	322,000	-2	+6	+2	+6	+3.0	
December		2,564,767	604,172	2,173,772	1,639,947	102,441	224,391	351,000	(*)	+1.6	+2	+8	+8.9	
1955														
January		2,558,246	610,518	2,197,927	1,658,102	102,583	225,855	370,000	-3	+1.0	+1	+7	+5.6	
February		2,553,776	617,692	2,327,501	1,680,549	102,804	227,490	380,000	-2	+1.2	+2	+7	+2.5	
March		2,552,881	624,235	2,253,174	1,699,626	103,045	229,894	381,000	(*)	+1.1	+2	+1.1	+4	
April		2,550,724	626,182	2,261,283	1,706,164	103,382	232,346	357,000	-1	+3	+3	+1.1	-6.2	
May		2,547,965	625,430	2,260,962	1,705,832	103,654	234,649	330,000	-1	-1	+3	+1.0	-7.7	
June		2,548,593	620,349	2,239,477	1,691,733	103,906	236,840	310,000	(*)	-8	+2	+9	-5.9	
July		2,550,101	611,578	2,209,299	1,668,941	104,140	238,763	298,000	+1	-1.4	+2	+8	-3.9	
August		2,551,615	607,822	2,199,090	1,661,809	104,164	240,299	297,000	+1	-6	(*)	+6	-1	
September		2,552,596	604,504	2,191,300	1,656,929	104,256	240,877	290,000	(*)	-5	+1	+2	-2.4	
Amount of assistance													Percentage change from previous month	
1954														
September	\$222,969,000	\$133,470,469	\$50,293,374	\$5,704,478	\$11,805,299	\$16,555,000	+0.9	+0.4	+1.1	+0.5	+1.4	-4.1		
October	222,765,000	132,371,000	50,775,470	5,732,141	12,037,489	16,910,000	-1	-8	+1.0	+5	+2.0	-2.2		
November	224,483,000	132,502,142	50,948,452	5,746,741	12,110,814	17,776,000	+8	+1	+3	+3	+6	+5.1		
December	229,361,000	133,193,960	52,063,695	5,774,614	12,324,863	20,079,000	+2.2	+5	+2.2	+5	+1.8	+12.9		
1955														
January	229,831,000	132,947,773	52,337,556	5,795,835	12,280,061	20,949,000	+2	-1	+5	+4	-4	+4.4		
February	230,496,000	132,053,661	53,192,939	5,822,423	12,421,584	21,518,000	+3	-7	+1.6	+5	+1.2	+2.7		
March	232,792,000	132,378,590	54,078,960	5,848,702	12,547,701	21,908,000	+1.0	+2	+1.7	+5	+1.8	+1.8		
April	230,874,000	132,351,618	54,273,669	5,873,069	12,808,650	19,822,000	-8	(*)	+4	+4	+1.3	-8.1		
May	229,468,000	132,674,197	54,229,682	5,898,355	12,895,336	17,947,000	-6	+2	-1	+4	+7	-9.9		
June	228,490,000	133,297,014	53,835,897	5,965,151	13,010,952	16,674,000	-4	+5	-7	+1.1	+9	-7.1		
July	227,683,000	134,267,369	52,998,023	5,906,557	13,188,555	15,941,000	-4	+7	-1.6	-1.0	+1.4	-4.4		
August	226,881,000	133,649,806	52,770,265	5,888,035	13,300,630	15,717,000	-4	+5	-4	-3	+9	-1.4		
September	227,114,000	134,002,325	52,856,945	5,945,473	13,303,498	15,366,000	+1	+3	+2	+1.0	(*)	-2.2		

<sup>1</sup> For definition of terms see the *Bulletin*, January 1953, p. 16. All data subject to revision.

<sup>2</sup> Total exceeds sum of columns because of inclusion of vendor payments for medical care from general assistance funds and from special medical funds; data on such expenditures partly estimated for some States.

<sup>3</sup> Includes as recipients the children and 1 parent or other adult relative in families in which the requirements of at least 1 such adult were considered in determining the amount of assistance.

<sup>4</sup> Decrease of less than 0.05 percent.

<sup>5</sup> Increase of less than 0.05 percent.

**UNITED NATIONS SURVEY**

(Continued from page 21)

the question of available funds for social programs. The problem of financing social programs lies behind many other problems; it involves not only the limitation of the total amount of funds, but also the competition for these funds on the part of different programs.

In relation to allocations, there has been considerable emphasis in recent years on "balanced" economic and so-

cial development. This principle is now widely accepted. There is, however, little agreement as to what constitutes balanced development or a balanced allocation of funds for development. Concepts of balanced development do not indicate, for example, the percentage of public expenditures that should be devoted to education in an underdeveloped country seeking development. Nor is there agreement as to the order and timing of expenditures on different types of

programs. Whether it is possible or desirable to elaborate a more detailed framework of thought to guide specific decisions remains an open question.

In the perspective of the future, the uses that will be made of the vast resources now promised by developments in atomic and solar energy, as well as of resources currently absorbed in armaments, may profoundly affect the whole question of investment and improvement in social welfare.